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Author:



Yael Filmer

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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## **The Divine Name ADNY in the Hebrew Bible:**

# Surprising Findings

## The Tetragrammaton and ADNY

The Tetragrammaton (YHWH) is mentioned more than 6,800 times in the Hebrew Bible. The divine name ADNY, on the other hand, is mentioned some 440 times,<sup>1</sup> 134 of which unaccompanied by YHWH,<sup>2</sup> and the rest together with the Tetragrammaton, mostly in the order ADNY YHWH, but in five places YHWH ADNY. In an additional forty occurrences we find YHWH Elohim (20 of these in the Garden of Eden narrative in Genesis 2-3). The books of the Prophets and the Hagiographa, as well as the epigraphy of the First Temple period, made free and constant use of the Tetragrammaton.<sup>3</sup> In a certain time in the first half of the Second Temple period, sometime between the composition of the Latter Prophets and the Septuagint, in which YHWH and ADNY are both translated !"#%& "lord", the Tetragrammaton became an exalted word, 1 I found in Mandelkern's concordance (S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae*, Jerusalem - Tel Aviv 1971, 16, 1432) 422 citations of Adonai. Even-Shoshan (A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*, I, Jerusalem 1995, 17-18) enumerated 425 occurrences. In the Snopi online concordance (<http://www.snopi.com/torasearch/torasearch.asp>) I counted 433 occurrences of the name, while Eissfeldt (O. Eissfeldt, "'dhôn; adh(n'i", in G.J.

Botterweck - H. Ringgren [ed.], *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, I, Grand Rapids MI 1974, 62) reports that the name occurs 449 times.

2 In the final Massorah Magna: %\*!&' \$')\*+ , %\*!&" \$')\*+ ( \$%&! ' !"# (see C.D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah: Compiled from Manuscripts* [Library of Biblical Studies], New York 1975, I, 25-26; IV, 28-29). The 134 occurrences of the Masorah corresponds with the listing in Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae*, 16.

3 Letters from the late First Temple period even created the abbreviated vow formulation

)YHWH (Lachish No. 3, l. 9; Arad No. 21, l. 5, including completion: S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* [trans. and ed. A.F. Rainey], Jerusalem 2008, 63, 68, 123, 125). E.Y. Kutscher noted that the masoretic vocalization % -.

)')% as against 012\* % /. preserves a remnant of this pronunciation. In Hebrew, the non-stressed diphthong *ay* is usually monophthongized unless the *y* is geminated. Therefore, \* !ayyahweh was not changed, while \* !aynap"ika became !# naf" e kha (reported in his name by several of my teachers).

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to be kept in secrecy and uttered only in the Temple, and transmitted only to select individuals.<sup>4</sup> Beyond these closed precincts, the Tetragrammaton began to be pronounced as “*Adonai*”, which is the practice to the present. When adjoining the divine name ADNY, it is pronounced “*Elohim*”. This practice might already be reflected in the book of

Chronicles, in which the name ADNY does not appear at all. Noteworthy is David's prayer in 2 Sam 7:18-29

cited in 1 Chr 17:16-27. While the text of Samuel contains six or seven occurrences of ADNY YHWH and one or two of YHWH Elohim,<sup>5</sup> the parallel in Chronicles has five of YHWH, one of Elohim, and two of YHWH Elohim.

The text in Chronicles most likely reflects the practice, already in effect at the time of the book's composition, of not pronouncing the Tetragrammaton as written.

All the ancient translations (except the Samaritan; see below) have the same representative for both the Tetragrammaton and ADNY. In the Septuagint, it is usually the word *κύριος* (= master). At times we find *κύριος* (a synonym for master), and in other instances, *κύριος* in a few cases, *κύριος* (the usual translation for *El, Elohim*); in a single instance, *κύριος* (holy). As for ADNY YHWH, the translators frequently forego the twofold name and translate only a single word.<sup>6</sup> At times we find the repetition: *κύριος κύριος* and in other cases, *κύριος* 8 *κύριος*. In the Jewish translations into Aramaic *ܐܕܢܝ ܝܗܘܗ* / *ܐܕܢܝ ܝܗܘܗ* / *ܐܕܢܝ*

(pronounced "*adonai*") are the constant translation for both names; the Pe-shitta uses *mry*; and the Vulgate, *Dominus*. The identity of the Tetragrammaton and ADNY is evident in the writings of both the Qumran sect and Bar Kokhba's followers. Here are a few examples: Isa 50:5, according to MT:

"The Lord God [ADNY YHWH] opened my ears"; in 1QIsa: ADNY *Elohim*; Isa 61:11 (MT): "So the Lord God [ADNY YHWH] will make victory shoot up"; in 1QIsa: YHWH *Elohim*; Zech 9:4 (MT): "But my Lord [ADNY] will inherit her"; in the Greek 8HevXIIgr from Nahal Hever (in which YHWH appears

in Hebrew, in the contemporary Paleo-Hebrew script): 9; < !#[!]"

=>?@;A;]B?C[E]I AYTHN.

4 See L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brown Judaic Studies 33), Chico CA 1983, 133-154.

5 In most MSS, four ADNY YHWH and two YHWH Elohim; MS. Leningrad has ADNY

YHWH for one of the latter. It is plausible that the one or two occurrences of YHWH Elohim are a consequence of a copyist's error, under the influence of the reading tradition.

6 Elliger in *BHS* preferred the shortened version of the LXX as the original text and considered the double name of MT to be a late addition. Zimmerli has suggested an innovative approach. Based on the custom found in Qumran and elsewhere to write the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew or Paleo-Hebrew in the Greek translation of the Scriptures, he assumes that our MSS of the LXX were copied from such Jewish manuscripts by Christian copyists who were ignorant of Hebrew and therefore omitted the Tetragrammaton. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20* (Anchor Bible), New York 1983, 65.

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The Samaritan tradition is of special interest. At present, and probably during the last two millenia, the Samaritans distinguish between the Tetragrammaton and ADNY. Both are written without change as YHWH and ADNY,

respectively, but the former is pronounced *#ma* (Aramaic “the name”), while the latter is pronounced *\$d\$ni* and is probably considered a submissive form of address “my Lord”, as reflected by the Samaritan Aramaic *Targumim* (*mry* in the ancient *Targum*, *rby* in its medieval version).<sup>7</sup> In, however, a Samaritan inscription from Mount Gerizim, dated to the 4th-2nd centuries BCE, one finds HQRYB YWSP [ʿL ʔC]TW WʿL BNYW [LPNY ʔ]DNY BMQDC “Joseph has sacrificed [for] his [wife] and sons [before A]DNY in the Temple”.<sup>8</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the author of the inscription referred to the Tetragrammaton. Thus, we can conclude that in the Second Temple period the Samaritans, like the Jews, pronounced the Tetragrammaton as “ADNY”.

Later Jewish sources indicate that the same practice of combining YHWH

and ADNY continued for generations. Cf., for instance, an amulet from the Land of Israel, apparently from the Byzantine period, which reads: CMʿ

YCRʔL YYYY ʔLWHYNW ʔDNY ʔY)D WʔHBTH ʔT ʔDNY ʔLWHYKH ...  
9

This state of affairs made it difficult to discern the unique nature of the original ADNY.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> According to the appropriate verses in A. Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch*, Tel Aviv 1980. In this edition the ancient *Targum* is represented by MS J, and the later version, by MS A.

<sup>8</sup> Y. Magen - H. Misgav - L. Tsfanya, *Mount Gerizim Excavations. I: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions* (JSP 2), (trans. E. Levin - M. Guggenheimer), Jerusalem 2004, Inscription 150, 141-142.

9 É. Puech, “Une amulette judéo-palestinienne bilingue en argent”, *Meghillot* 5-6 (2008)

\*177-186: \*178.

10 See, e.g., Nahmanides’ attack on Rashi to Deut 3:24 (“ADNY YHWH [O Lord God], You who let Your servant see”):

G-d [YHWH] the Eternal [ *Elohim*] – “merciful in judgment”. This is Rashi’s language.

Now, the Rabbi did not consider that the first Divine Name is spelled with the letters *Aleph Dalet* and the second Name is spelled with the letters *Yod Hei* [i.e., the Tetragrammaton]. In this regard [i.e., the Tetragrammaton], the Rabbis have said: “Wherever Scripture states ‘the Eternal’ [i.e., the Tetragrammaton] it signifies the attribute of mercy, and [wherever it mentions] ‘G-d’ ( *Elokim*) it indicates the attribute of judgment” (Ramban [Nahmanides], *Commentary on the Torah: Deuteronomy* [trans. C.B. Chavel], New York 1976, 47).

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Scholarly Approaches Concerning the Origin and Meaning of ADNY

According to Gustaf Dalman<sup>11</sup> Adonai is the form of address “My Lord!”, derived from the plural of majesty *adonim*. So that this explanation could encompass all the relevant verses, Dalman, on the one hand, widens this interpretation not only to cases of addressing God but also to every expression of veneration concerning God, which actually

includes almost every case of a person who speaks about God, while, on the other, he radically emends the biblical text whenever ADNY does not fit this interpretation (mainly when the speaker is God Himself).

Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Grammar* 12 improved this approach. According to Gesenius-Kautzsch, Adonai was originally a form of address, but was eventually developed to express "the Lord", due to the weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun. This phenomenon is known in many languages, like the title "Rabbi" – originally "my master", and similarly *mry* in Syriac, *Ma-donna* in Italian, *Madame*, *Monseigneur*, *Notre Dame* in French.

An innovative idea was offered by Bauer and Leander: It was not *adonai* that was derived from *adon*, but the opposite. Since the root ʾDN is not overly productive in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, they suggest that *adon\$ʾi*

"the Lord" was a borrowed word from some unknown language. In the course of time speakers imagined it to be a Hebrew word with a possessive suffix and created the back formation *adon* "lord".<sup>13</sup>

In recent decades the theory of Otto Eissfeldt is frequently cited. Eissfeldt pointed to four cases in Ugaritic sources (Oswald Loretz followed him and added a fifth case) in which nouns have an unexplained -y suffix. In his opinion this suffix was a "postpositive element which was probably meant to give emphasis" and it was pronounced -\$y. The -\$y suffix of *adon\$ʾi* was originally an example of this phenomenon. As time went by, the address term *adoni* when directed to God was adapted to this form.<sup>14</sup>

11 G. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Studien zur Theologie), Berlin 1889, esp. 33.

12 Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* (trans. A.F. Cowley), Oxford 1985, 441.

13 H. Bauer - P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*, Hildesheim 1965 (Halle 1922), 16, 253, 469, 502.

14 Eissfeldt, "ʾdhôn; ʾadh(n'i", 62-72; K. Spronk, "Lord", in K. van der Toorn *et alii* (ed.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Leiden etc. 1992, 531-533; M. Rösel, *Adonaj* -

*warum Gott ,Herr' genannt wird* (FAT 29), Tübingen 2000, 17-21. See M.Z. Brettler, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor* (JSOT SS 76), Sheffield 1989, 41-42, 175-176, who argues against Eissfeldt.

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ADNY: The Fundamental Difference between Two Sections of Biblical Books

My research of Adonai and its occurrences led me to reach surprising conclusions. I found that, in the first part of the Hebrew Bible, this apparently was not a divine name, but rather served as a submissive form of address, found only in citations of direct speech, similar to the term of address to a person *adoni*, with all its typical characteristics identical to those of *adoni*. The word *adoni* appears 194 times in the Bible, always within a direct quotation: of a person addressing someone greater than himself, or when a wife or slave speak with others about, respectively, their husband or master; the word %3 *bi* is added to *adoni* 7 times, and to

Adonai in 4 passages. The exclamation *ahah* (“Ah”) appears 15 times in the Bible, as follows: 10 times, in the combination *ahah ADNY YHWH*, 2 in *ahah adoni*; and once each as *ahah bitti* (“Ah my daughter”), *ahah le-* (“Ah for”), *ahah ki* (“Ah because”). The Hebrew *ahah* is never followed by the name of a specific individual or any name of a god except Adonai.

The use of Adonai as an ordinary divine name is found extensively in the books of Amos, Isaiah, and Kings. In the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel we do not find a single occurrence in this function, while beginning with Amos, Isaiah, and Kings, it continues to appear until the latest books of the Hebrew Bible except Chronicles (see below).<sup>15</sup> It is especially common in Ezekiel (more than 200 occurrences). The language of the prophecies of Isaiah and Amos is generally thought to be original and contemporaneous. We could hardly imagine that the appearance of the divine name Adonai in these books is the result of later redaction, for if this had been the case, why would these presumed redactors have changed YHWH to ADNY in some instances, specifically in these books? It therefore would seem that, generally speaking, this is the original version of these books, and that the name ADNY began to serve as a divine appellation sometime in the middle of the 8th century BCE.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> W.W.F. Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religions-geschichte*, II, Giessen 1929, 18 (cited by Eissfeldt, “*ʾdhôn*; *ʾadh(n'i)*”, 67), noted that the Pentateuch uses the name Adonai only as an address in the sense of “My Lord”. He did not, however, discern that this characteristic persisted until the end of the books of Samuel, and mainly, he did not consider it as a matter of significance.

“a harsh master [ *adonim*]” (Isa 19:4); “And if I am a master [ *adonim*], where is the reverence due me” (Mal 1:6). In contrast, in the construct state and inflected forms, the basis is generally *adonim*. Besides %5\*6! 7&, which is the subject of our discussion, there are 6 occurrences of “the Sovereign [ *adon*] of all the earth” (in Joshua, Micah, Zechariah, and Psalms), a single instance of 8\*/\*6! 7& (1Sam 16:16), and one of the *ketiv* '\*!& and the *qeri* '%9\*6! 7& (Prov 30:10). All the other forms are derived from *adonim*: 6 %/\*6! 7&-; 10 8\*%/\*( 6!

)' 7& 19 :%;\*6! 7& 2 <5%-\*6! 7& 11

= ;4%/\*6! 7& 42 '%9\*6! 7& 4 9)%;\*6! 7& and 11 = ;)%/\*(6!

)' 7&.17

In light of these statistics, the address “My lord!”, whether directed to a person or to God, should most naturally be *adonai*. Besides, we would also expect to find here and there the rarer form *adoni*. The division that we find in the traditional vocalization of MT: *adoni* directed to a person, and *adonai* directed to God, should be the result of linguistic differentiation on theological grounds.<sup>18</sup> This is supported by the absence, in the entire Bible, of the combination we would anticipate: *adoni* YHWH. This enables us to clearly understand the talmudic disagreement whether Gen 18:3 should be read “He said, Adonai [= God], if it please you” or “He said, *adoni* [i.e., addressing an angel], 17 Once, and perhaps twice, we find in the Bible the word %-\*6! 7& in the plural: “Please, my lords (%-\*6! 7&), turn aside to your servant’s house” (Gen 19:2); and possibly also: “But Lot said to them, ‘Oh no, %9\*6! 7&! You have been so gracious to your servant’ ” (Gen 19:18-19, following Pe-shitta and Ibn Ezra, who interpret this word as a pausal form of %-\*6! 7&, in opposition to LXX, On-keles and the Palestinian *Targumim*, the Vulgate, *b. Shebu.* 35b, *Sop.* 4:7, R. Saadiah Gaon, and Rashi on the verse, according to whom it is a divine name).

<sup>18</sup> The differentiation is attested in the Samaritan tradition of reading the Torah as well, but in a different way. The word ADNY that refers to a person is read as “*\$danni*”, while the address to God is pronounced “*\$d\$ni*” (Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*. IV: *The Words of the Pentateuch*, Jerusalem 1977, 8-9 [Hebrew]). For additional examples (not all of

them are convincing) of linguistic features in which biblical Hebrew distinguishes between secular and divine, see E.Z. Melammed, "Linguistic Uses in the Bible Specific for the Lord", *Tarbiz* 18 (1948) 1-18 (Hebrew).

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if it please you" ( *b. Sebu.* 35b).<sup>19</sup> And yet another, and especially intriguing, example:

The angel of the Lord appeared to him and said to him, "The Lord is with you, valiant warrior!" Gideon said to him, "Please, my lord [ *adonī*], is the Lord with us?" [...] The Lord turned to him and said, "Go in this strength of yours and deliver Israel [...]" He said to him, "Please, my Lord [ *adonai*], how can I deliver Israel?" (Jud 6:12-15).

This is all one scene, and the two characters, Gideon and the angel, are present from its beginning to its end, but in the first statement, when Gideon does not know that this (the angel) is the Lord or a representative of Him, he addresses him as *adoni*. After "the Lord turned to him and said", the narrator, or the Ma-sorete, has Gideon say *adonai*.

We cannot determine when this differentiation came into being. It might be late, perhaps even very much so; but according to the above data, it seems preferable to ascribe this development to an early date. It is reasonable that somewhere in the 8th century BCE the address ADNY became a divine name as a result of the already existing distinction in pronunciation between the secular *adoni* "My lord" and the divine *adonai* "My Lord".

The vocalization in MT of the divine name  $\text{קדש}$  with a *kamez* and not a *pa-ta!*, even in the middle of a verse, is apparently parallel to the practice of applying to names whose form is verbal, the vocalization of a noun, and not verbal vocalization, as can be seen in the names  $\text{שמואל}$ ,  $\text{דוד}$ ,  $\text{ישראל}$ ,  $\text{יחזקאל}$ , and the like, unlike the verbal forms “and Jacob gave [ $\text{שמואל}$ ] Esau” (Gen 25:34); “and Sarah laughed

[ $\text{שמואל}$  5A -']” (Gen 18:12); “and if he will indeed redeem [ $\text{שמואל}$ ] the field” (Lev 27:19). Similarly, the possessive pronoun *-ay* should become *-y* when the word became a proper name. This simple explanation renders unnecessary the innovative theories of Bauer-Leander and Eissfeldt cited above.

The tendency to adopt a submissive form of address to God as an objective divine appellation has an interesting parallel in Modern Hebrew. The phrase

$\text{מוֹלֵךְ הָעוֹלָם}$  *ribbono shel ʔ olam* “Master of the Universe” (in good MSS of Rabbinic literature  $\text{רַבְּבִינִי}$  *rabbuni* “My Lord”), which was originally a form of address used as an exclamation to God, became in Modern Hebrew (perhaps via Yiddish) an objective epithet of God.

19 As is indicated by the simple meaning of the Talmud and Rashi’s commentary (in contrast to Rashi himself in his commentary on the Torah to Gen 18:3).

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$\text{קדש}$  !  $\text{קדש}$ : Table of Occurrences

The following table presents all the biblical occurrences of %5\*6! 7& and %9\*6! 7&, together with a short quotation of the context in each verse. %5\*6! 7& appears in two contexts:

1. A slave or a wife speak with others about their master/husband (41 occurrences). This type naturally has no parallels in the %9\*6! 7& column.

2. A person speaks submissively to one greater than him (all the other occurrences, except for two, that are defined as “others”). This type is paralleled by all the occurrences of %9\*6! 7& to the end of Samuel, 15 occurrences in Isaiah (to chapter 39), Amos, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, an additional 7 in Daniel 9, and one in Nehemiah 1.20 The address with either %5\*6! 7& or %9\*6! 7& could be in the second or third person, or a combination of the two. I gain the impression that there is no significant contentual difference between the two forms.

The finds from Psalms will be discussed separately below.

%9\*6! 7& (435 occurrences)

%5\*6! 7& (194 occurrences)

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20 The relative paucity of Adonai in submissive address parallels in great degree its transformation to an objective name for the Lord (my thanks to Dorit Lehrer for this observation). It should, however, be noted that *adoni* continued to function quite frequently as a term of address to a person in the book of Kings, and, parallel to this usage, in late First Temple period epigraphy. It is noteworthy that the epigraphy did not contain ADNY as a divine name.

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Yoel Elitzur

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The Divine Name ADNY in the Hebrew Bible

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submissive

submissive

servant/wife

other

divine name

address

adress

about master/

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Yoel Elitzur

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servant/wife

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divine name

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The Divine Name ADNY in the Hebrew Bible

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submissive

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Yoel Elitzur

objective

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The Divine Name ADNY in the Hebrew Bible

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The Divine Name ADNY in the Hebrew Bible

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Yoel Elitzur

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ADNY in Psalms

Adonai is mentioned in Psalms 53 times, 40 in supplication to the Creator, and 13 as an objective divine name. The latter is of interest to us. Of these 13

occurrences, 6 are in Ps 2, 37, 44, 66, 107, 110 (once each in each psalm), and the other 7 are all in Ps 68.

We will preface our discussion of Ps 68 with a few words about the other psalms in this group. Ps 44, in great degree, and Ps 66, with somewhat lesser emphasis, bemoan the bitter fate of Israel, that has fallen into enemies' hands.

Ps 44 even declares: "You disperse us among the nations". The content of the two psalms teaches that they apparently belong to the period in which Israel's standing was inferior to that of Aram, Assyria, or Babylonia, and logic would dictate that they were composed in the time in which the divine name ADNY

was already in existence. Avi Hurvitz found in Ps 107 linguistic characteristics typical of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). Ps 110 is distinguished by its beginning with an exceptional occurrence of *adoni*, that is neither submissive address, nor a servant speaking about his master or a wife, about her husband, and the presence of *adonai* in it (v. 5) is not certain.<sup>21</sup> Both Ps 2 and Ps 37 contain a similar expression: “Adonai mocks them” (2:4); “Adonai laughs at him”

(37:13).

And now, as regards Ps 68. It is commonly acknowledged that this is the most difficult psalm to decipher. Its language is difficult, and has many similarities to Ugaritic and other external sources.<sup>22</sup> Scholarly research has advanced every possible dating for it, from the beginning of the period of the Judges to 21 In Genizah fragments (see *BHS* on this verse) and in 19 manuscripts in the Kennicott collection (B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, cum variis lectionibus*, II, Oxonii 1780, 408) YHWH appears, and not ADNY, while a single manuscript contains both names. Dahood, in contrast (M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101-150* [AB 17A], Garden City NY 1970, 118), based on the context, suggests amending Adonai to *adoni*.

<sup>22</sup> J.A. Sanders, “Text and Canon: Concepts and Method”, *JBL* 98 (1979) 5-29, indicated the exceptional number of hapax legomena in this psalm. Massorah Parva has here 32 annotations for “, the abbreviation of )>'4! >%” “unique”. For a survey of the numerous and extensive interpretations of this psalm, see M.E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC 20), Dallas TX 1990, 170-175.

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the time of the Hasmoneans.<sup>23</sup> A study of the extant psalm<sup>24</sup> reveals historical data that can give it a general dating. Mention is made of the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem (v. 30), thus apparently teaching that the psalm postdates David; and of the princes of Zebulun and Naphtali (v. 28), showing that it most likely predates the exile of the northern tribes during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (732 BCE).<sup>25</sup> Our findings, of the numerous instances of ADNY in this psalm as an objective divine name, might suit its dating to the 8th century BCE.<sup>26</sup>

### Influence of the Findings of This Study on the Research of the Hebrew Bible and Its Language

My previously undetected findings in the current article provide an ex-tremely clear picture of development, which could hardly be the artificial product of some late redactor. They might be significant for fundamental issues of biblical research, such as dating the writing and editing of certain books of the Bible. From a linguistic point of view, my findings could open a discussion concerning the subdivision of linguistic layers during the period of Standard Biblical Hebrew. In recent decades, thanks to the researches of Avi Hurvitz and others, the distinction between Standard Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical

<sup>23</sup> U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies* (trans. I. Abrahams), I, Jerusalem 1975, 241-242. Of course, Ugaritic and Phoenician characteristics in a biblical text are not necessarily indicative of its early composition; see C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Analecta Orientalia 38), Rome 1965, 80.

24 I. Knohl, "Psalm 68: Structure, Composition and Geography", *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 12 (2012) 1-21 ([http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article\\_177.pdf](http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_177.pdf)): 1, correctly notes that this psalm has no textual witnesses from Qumran, and that the version reflected in LXX generally resembles MT.

25 J. Gray, "A Cantata of the Autumn Festival: Psalm LXVIII", *JSS* 22 (1977) 2-26: 7.

26 Knohl, "Psalm 68", 11-20, deems Ps 68 to be a Northern psalm, based mainly on the pre-sumably Northern geography evident in it. According to this opinion, we might think that the development of the name ADNY began in the North. In, however, the extant psalm, without any arbitrary textual emendations, we have, along with "Mount Bashan" in the North and "Zalmon", whose Northern identification is speculative, "Jerusalem", as well as depictions of an arid desert region, Sinai, Egypt, and Cush. On the other hand, the divine name ADNY is absent from the prophecies of Hosea, the Northern contemporary of Amos and Isaiah. *adn* is known from the Ugaritic texts, not as a divine name, but as an additional title for the god *il* and the god *ym*. It is not known in Phoenicia, not even as an adjective. The connection between what is present in the Ugaritic writings and the Greek Adonis, the young dead god who comes to life every year, is problematic. *adn* is a regular title for the god Baal in Carthage, and might have been transferred from there to the Greek Adonis (see Spronk, "Lord", and the bibliography; I.K. Halayqa, *A Comparative Lexicon of Ugaritic and Canaanite* [AOAT 340], Münster 2008, 36). The Greeks and the Romans called the Ibrahim River in Lebanon "Adonis" (see J. Benzinger, "Adonis 1", in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I/1, Stuttgart 1893, 384-385), but nothing can be learned from this of the rite of this god in Phoenicia.

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Hebrew has become commonly accepted.<sup>27</sup> In the current article I indicated a striking linguistic development that took place in the classic biblical period.

## Conclusions

Four periods might be discerned in the history of ADNY in the Hebrew Bible: 1.

At first, it was a submissive address for either human or god. Most probably, it was usually pronounced with the suffix *-ay* (based on the *pluralis majestatis adonim*) and more rarely, with the suffix *-i* (based on *adon*).

2.

It might be assumed that somewhere before the 8th century BCE, people felt the necessity to distinguish between the secular and the divine uses of the word. Thus, the pronunciation with *-ay* was devoted to the address form concerning God, leaving the pronunciation with *-i* for the same word when the interlocutor was a person.

3.

In the time of the prophets Amos and Isaiah, or a bit prior to their period, *adonai* began to be used also as an objective divine name. At this same time, its use as a form of address remained, albeit in diminished use. This state of affairs persisted until the middle of the Persian period.

4.

Sometime after the time of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, but before that of the Septuagint, and most probably even before the composition (or at least the last redaction) of Chronicles, *adonai* became the standard pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, which could no longer be pronounced outside the precincts of the Temple. From this period on, ADNY almost ceased to be used as a separate divine name.

Yoel Elitzur

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

27 A. Hurvitz, "Biblical Hebrew, Late", in G. Khan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, I, Leiden - Boston 2013, 329-338.

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